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***Contact, Mobility and Authenticity:  
Language Ideologies in Koineisation  
and Creolisation***

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# Introduction

How are new dialects/ languages represented in metalinguistic discourse?

# Introduction

How do notions of unity, authenticity, mobility, economic efficiency, etc. in language/ dialect contact situations affect the legitimacy and status of certain varieties (and vice versa)?

# Introduction

Four relatively new varieties will be analysed, as we regard the early stage of a variety as particularly interesting when it comes to negotiating its status and constructing ideological perceptions in discourse.

**Dialect Project**  
(Laura Tresch)

**New Zealand English**

**Estuary English**  
Southeast England

**Creole Project**  
(Christoph Neuenschwander)

**Tok Pisin**  
Papua New Guinea

**Hawaii Creole English**

**Dialect Project**  
(Laura Tresch)

**Creole Project**  
(Christoph Neuenschwander)

**New Zealand English**

**Tok Pisin**  
Papua New Guinea

- More legitimised
- Local standard variety
- Overt prestige

**Estuary English**  
Southeast England

**Hawai'i Creole English**

- Less legitimised
- Non-standard variety
- Covert prestige

Primary aim of PhD  
Relevant for further output

Dialect Project  
(Laura Tresch)

Creole Project  
(Christoph Neuenschwander)

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# Key Concepts: Language Ideologies

‘Language ideologies’ have recently been defined as:

*beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states. These conceptions, whether explicitly articulated or embodied in communicative practice, represent incomplete or ‘partially successful’, attempts to rationalize language usage; such rationalizations are typically multiple, context-bound, and necessarily constructed from the sociocultural experience of the speaker (Kroskrity 2010:192).*

# Historicity and Language Ideology

In *Language Ideological Debates* (1999), Jan Blommaert argues for a more historical perspective on language ideologies, taking socio-political developments into account.

# Historicity and Language Ideology

“Every text incorporates, reformulates, reinterprets or re-reads previous texts.”

(Blommaert 1999: 5)

“[T]exts are not stable over time: each reproduction of a text shapes a new text.”

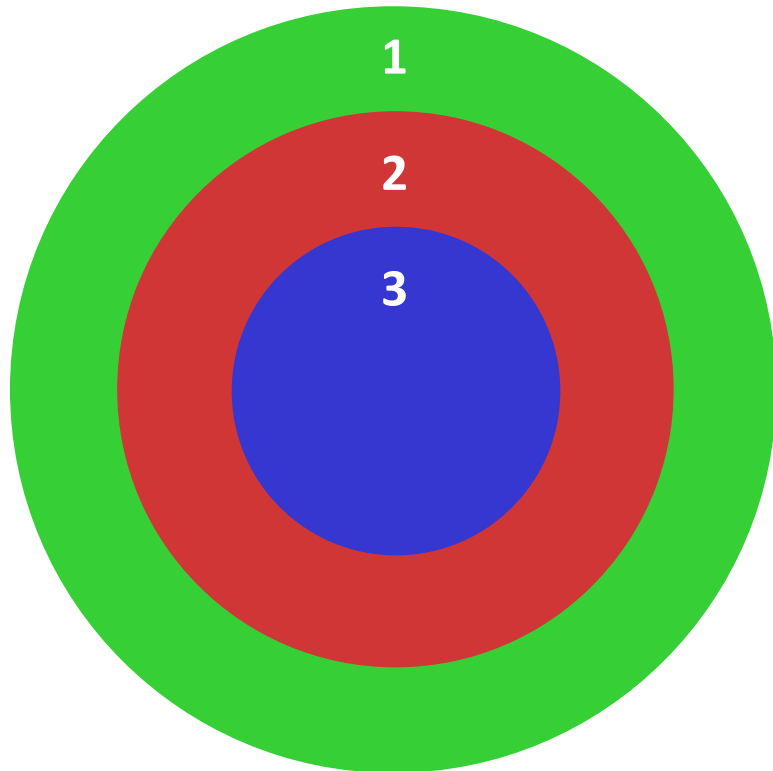
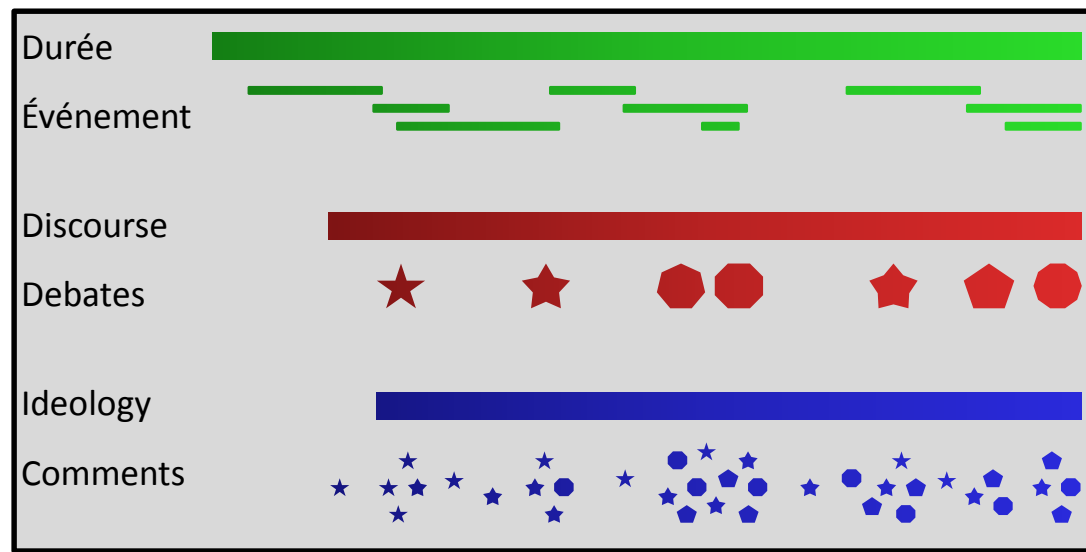
(ibid: 6)

# Historicity and Language Ideology

“[T]here are crucial moments in history during which languages become targets of political, social and cultural intervention, and there are moments in which very little in the way of drama and crisis seems to happen.”

(Blommaert 1999: 425)





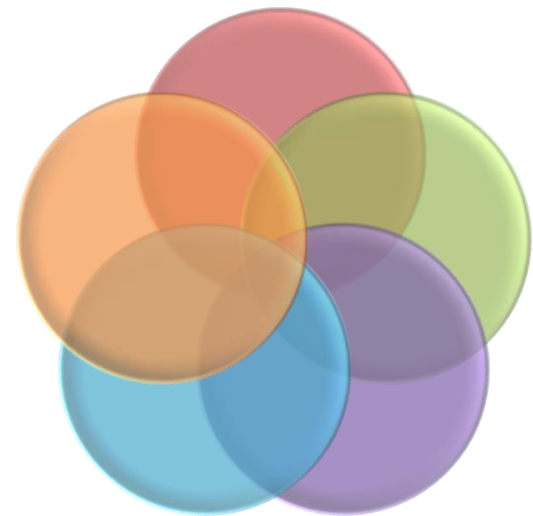
**1. Level of historical, social, linguistic context**  
(What happens?)

**2. Metalinguistic level**  
(What do people say about what happens?)

**3. Level of analysis**  
(What traces can we find of what people say?)

# Key Concepts: Language Ideologies

According to Kroskrity (2010:195) it is convenient to regard 'language ideologies' as a cluster concept consisting of five converging dimensions.



# Key Concepts: Language Ideologies

- 1) “[...] represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group” (Kroskrity 2010:195).
- 2) “[...] are profitably conceived as multiple” (Kroskrity 2010: 197).
- 3) “Members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies” (Kroskrity 2010:198).
- 4) “Members’ language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk” (Kroskrity 2010:200).
- 5) “[...] are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities ” (Kroskrity 2004:509).



# Key Concepts: Language Ideologies

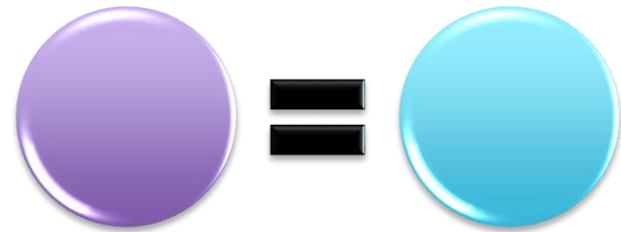
- Helpful theoretical framework for the identification and exemplification of language ideologies.
- Investigate metalinguistic discourses through this framework (analysis of data)  
→ case studies

# Key Concepts: Language Ideologies

Irvine and Gal (2000:36-7), have identified three important semiotic processes that underlie much language ideological reasoning: **iconization, fractal recursivity** and **erasure**.

# Key Concepts: Language Ideologies

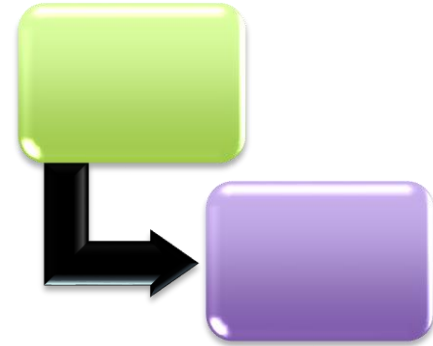
## 1) Iconization:



“Linguistic features that index social groups or activities appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence” (Irvine and Gal 2000: 37).

# Key Concepts: Language Ideologies

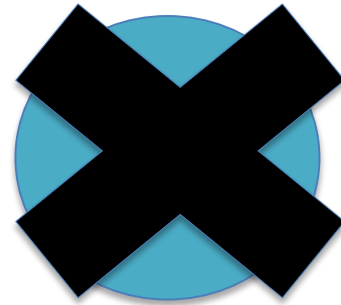
## 2) Fractal Recursivity:



“Involves the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level”  
(Irvine and Gal 2000: 38).

# Key Concepts: Language Ideologies

## 3) Erasure:



“is the process in which ideology, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible” (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38).

# Key Concepts: Language Ideologies

- Help us revealing productive patterns in language ideological understanding of linguistic variability over populations, places and times.
- Are these processes at work in our case studies?
- How are linguistic differentiation and description shaped and created?

# Key Concepts: Language Ideologies

“Language ideologies are, among many other things, about the construction and legitimation of power, the production of social relations of sameness and difference, and the creation of cultural stereotypes about types of speakers and social groups” (Spitulnik 1998: 164).

# Key Concepts: Language Ideologies

“While language ideologies are most readily identifiable in explicit metalinguistic discourse (i.e., language about language) [...] language ideologies are also embodied in a very fundamental and implicit sense within the everyday practices of institutions” (Spitulnik 1998:163).



# Multisitedness

- Paul Kroskrity (2010) draws on Susan Philips, stating that there are two types of ideological sites:
  - sites of ideological production (ex. newspapers, broadcasting, educational system)
  - sites of metapragmatic commentary (ex. newspapers)
- “[I]t is only the latter which both requires and demonstrates the discursive consciousness of speakers” (Kroskrity 2010: 199).

# New Zealand English

*Language Ideologies: the Development and Legitimisation of New Zealand English*



# New Zealand English

## Introduction:

- New Zealand English first emerged at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a result of dialect contact due to colonization.
- Developed into an autonomous and legitimised national variety enjoying a distinct socio-political status, recognition and codification.
- For long only British standard norms were deemed suitable for media broadcasting and educational purposes  
→ **exonormative linguistic orientation.**

# New Zealand English

“What then is the standard towards which New Zealand English refers itself? I think there is little doubt that it is RP. RP is widely used in all ‘serious’ broadcasting by the NZBC[...]

” (Bell 1983:32).

# New Zealand English

## Main aims:

- Investigate the metalinguistic discourses during the period of transition from a British norm to a New Zealand norm in the media context (and other relevant areas).
- Identify and examine the (language) ideologies that have shaped and underlain these discourses and their related practices in these media (e.g. broadcasting norms).
- Consider sociolinguistic and pragmatic effects.

# New Zealand English

“Media language, especially that of broadcasting, is often regarded as a language standard.[...]it can arouse fierce passions within those who write letters to the editor or feature articles. It is in media language that we can document some of the shifts taking place” (Bell 1991: 73).

# New Zealand English

## Why New Zealand English?

- Nothing explicitly on language ideologies in relation to the development and legitimisation of this variety and more has to be done concerning more recent periods of its history.
- Relatively new variety of English.
- Relevant socio-historical and sociolinguistic context: 'linguistic colonialism' (Bell 1992) and 'cultural cringe' (Bayard 2000).
- Comparability 'Estuary English' and wider project.

# New Zealand English: HOW?

## **Methodology:**

→ Focus on broadcasting and on discussions about the appropriateness of New Zealand English vis à vis external (British) models of language

1926: Appearance of the Radio

1960: Appearance of the TV



# New Zealand English: WHAT?

**Debates (and articles)  
in newspapers**

→ *The New Zealand  
Listener* (and others)



**Broadcasting Policies and  
Norms**

→ Interviews, regulations,  
TVNZ and RNZ  
archives, style books (*RNZ  
Pronunciation Guide*).



**Educational policies  
and other relevant  
public discourses  
(ex. Internet).**

# New Zealand English: WHAT?

**Comparison** debates about Radio and about the TV (span of 30 years).

→ Are the debates and the language ideologies underlying them similar for the two media?

→ Has NZE become more acceptable?

# New Zealand English: WHEN?

**Three salient periods:**



## 1930s-1940s

- Appearance of the Radio and early comments.
- ‘Correct’ English was RP (British) English → **lack of legitimacy**
- As New Zealanders developed their own way of speaking (since the 1900s), this was publicly and vigorously and was considered a deteriorating pronunciation of British English. Thus the ‘complaint tradition’ in NZ is particularly strong and well-documented (ex. ‘colonial twang’, ‘this objectionable colonial dialect’) (Schneider 2007: 130).
- Mainly comments on pronunciation and vocabulary and a ‘corrective’ approach in the educational system (see Gordon 1991, 2009, 2010).

# 1930s-1940s

“The only way of curing this **evil** would be for the NBS to employ specialists to listen to every broadcast, and to record every mispronunciation by speakers, actors in radio plays, and announcers, and to bring the **faults** to the notice of the **offenders**. If after a reasonable period these were not able or willing to mend their ways, **their voices should cease to be heard on the air**” (*New Zealand Listener*, 28.3.1941).

## 1930s-1940s

“Let us lend our ears, enquiringly, but without zest to some of the **mutilations** of standard English that are heard in New Zealand[...]” (*New Zealand Listener*: 16, 1946).

# 1960s-1980s

- 1960: Appearance of the TV and early comments.
  - Changes in attitudes and standards (1973 Britain enters the European Union).
- Related to changes in socio-historical context: general attitudes towards Britain, and development of a stronger sense of national identity (see Belich 2001 and Palenski 2012).
- NZE is more acceptable and legitimate in areas where before only RP was.

## 1960s-1980s

“A number of factors are involved in the shift that's apparent in the way some New Zealanders at least are now viewing their own form of English speech. Perhaps the chief point is New Zealand's new, or heightened, sense of independent nationhood” (Deverson and Gordon 1985:81).



# The 1960s-80s

“As a consequence it has taken New Zealand broadcasting many years to start realizing that **‘this isn’t the BBC’**. Until the **1980s** most announcers on prestige radio and television programmes spoke something akin to RP, and many were in fact British born and bred. [...] **The orientation has tended to fade**, especially refocusing towards the United States [...]” (Bell 1992: 339).

# 1990s-Today

- Legitimised in both broadcasting and educational system
- **endonormative linguistic orientation.**
- Strong sense of national identity (distinguished from Britain) and acceptance of differences between NZE and RP.

# 1990s-Today

“These developments all point towards the emergence of a variety of English which is no longer to be seen merely as another version of British English transplanted in the colonies. New Zealand English is a distinctive variety of English in its own right. I believe that it can now be said that **New Zealanders have found their own voice**” (Gordon 1992: 208).

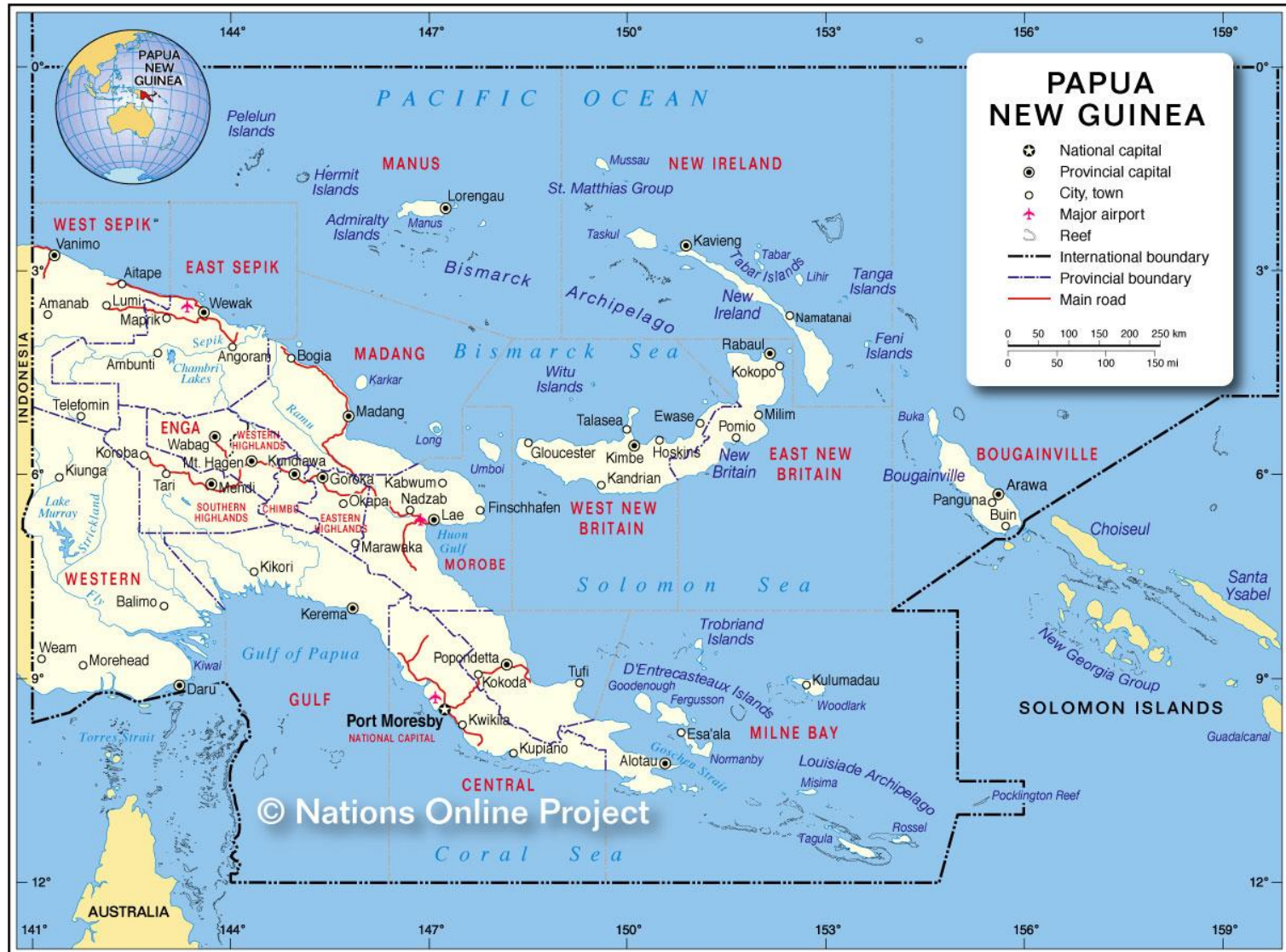
# 1990s-Today

“[in 1980][...] our newsreaders mimicked the BBC, with small betrayals of enunciation that signalled to the careful English listener that these people came from Somewhere Else, somewhere not quite England but that wanted to be a pale, South Pacific shadow of it. **Now, of course, things are different...** These days, our Pakeha children...do not talk of England as home; they know who they are and where they belong” (extract from a New Zealand magazine, McGee (1997:34); as reported in Bayard 2000:297).

# New Zealand English

- Were there also people who supported this variety? What were the arguments in favour of it?
- Why does the academic literature focus mainly on negative perceptions and comments?

# Tok Pisin



# Situation Today

- The “Independen Stet bilong Papua Niugini” has approximately 7 million inhabitants.
- There are still about 800 native languages on the mainland and the islands.
- More than half of the population speaks some variety of Tok Pisin.
- Tok Pisin is increasingly spoken as a first language (i.e. as a creole) in urban areas.

# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- First European contact was in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but it remained very irregular (Turner 2001).
- There were three phases of colonisation (Mühlhäusler 2003):
  - After 1870: Islands
  - After 1900: Mainland coast
  - After 1945: Highlands



# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- From about 1878 onwards, Bismarck Archipelago islanders were recruited to work on the German plantations of Samoa, where other workers had already developed a pidgin.
- The same workers who had been to Samoa were recruited first, when plantations began to be established in the Bismarck Archipelago.

# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- 1884: Protectorates of German New Guinea in the northeast and British New Guinea in the southeast are established.
- 1888: British protectorate becomes a colony.
- 1906: Colony is handed to the Commonwealth of Australia.
- 1914: Australia captures the German colony in the north. English becomes the language of instruction in the Australian Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Tok Pisin came to be used not only in vertical communication (between European colonisers and plantation workers) but also in horizontal communication, spoken by natives not only at work, but also to discuss other “non-traditional topics” (Mühlhäusler 2003: 6).

# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- In the Second World War, allied troops fought against the Japanese army on PNG soil.
- Both sides dropped propaganda leaflets in Tok Pisin.
- Australia recruited PNG soldiers.
- Tok Pisin's status changed: The “language of workers and servants” became a “medium of liberation and self-assertion” (Mühlhäusler 2003: 7).

# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- After the war, Australia invested in the Territory. "Health, education, and welfare projects were promoted. One Australian goal was universal primary education in the English language" (Turner 2001: XL).

# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- After 1945, Tok Pisin was used in newspapers published by the government. It became the language of local governments.
- The United Nations urged to abolish its use in 1953, because it was seen as a language of colonial repression.
- As a consequence, Tok Pisin newspapers were given up.

# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- In 1957, Father Mihalic wrote a Tok Pisin dictionary, on which today's standard orthography is based.
- In the early 1960s, radio stations in PNG, which previously had used English only, began to broadcast programs in Tok Pisin.

# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- In 1969, the *Nupela Testamen* was published in Tok Pisin.
- In 1970, the weekly Tok Pisin newspaper *Wantok* was launched by the catholic company Word Publishing.



# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- In 1965, Australia began “an expansion of secondary and higher education”, so “an educated PNG elite” could “take over government and the public service” in 1975 (ibid: XLIII).

# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- The official languages of Papua New Guinea are English, the native pidgin Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin.
- English and Tok Pisin are the languages normally used in parliamentary debates.

# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- Due to decentralisation and the increasing power of the provinces after 1977, people in PNG became less mobile and sometimes Tok Pisin was (and still is) “pushed back by native languages” (Mühlhäusler 2003: 7).

# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- The government initiated a school reform in 1991, scheduled from 1994 to 2004. One reform was the introduction of local languages in the first three years of school, while English is gradually introduced in the third year (Turner 2001: 71).

# History of PNG and Tok Pisin

- Post-creole Tok Pisin is heavily anglicised and becomes more difficult to learn, which threatens its status as a lingua franca. Some people want the government to adopt a more prescriptive attitude (Mühlhäusler 2003).

# Meta-linguistic debates

- Tok Pisin as a language of colonial repression versus Tok Pisin as a marker of identity
- Tok Pisin in the media (UN criticism, religious texts, newspapers, radio)
- Tok Pisin in political and public debates (official language according to Constitution)
- Tok Pisin in education (English education after WWII, recent school reform)
- Local languages versus Tok Pisin versus Standard English

# Next steps

- Determining the exact periods of attention.
- Determining the specific sources of data and locate them.
- Planning the fieldwork trip to New Zealand and Papua New Guinea in April to collect data.

# Conclusions

"The concept of language ideology is the final rejection of an innocent, behavioural account of language and the focus of the strongest claim that **sociolinguistics must engage with metalinguistic processes in the most general sense**" (Kroskrity 2010: 200).